2: Schaden--75 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4
Kayová

142
291
283
516
302

VI. Kayová-Guaraní woman from Amambaí, spinning caraguatá fiber.

252
231
354
417
342

VII. Cooking in the open air among the Kayová-Guaraní of Dourados.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 756 797 Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *pa'i* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*pa'i*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

*174 726 ## WARFARE

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

*174 231 648 726 *[175] By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

avail against their magic.[73] The Cayuá said that they could not even keep cocks or dogs in their settlements for fear that their crowing or barking would disclose the location of *tapúi* to lurking raiders.[74] If the Cayuá ever had a markedly aggressive spirit toward other peoples, then, it may have been curbed by contact with the proud and dauntless equestrian raiders from the Chaco, if not earlier, indeed, by strife with more successful Tupi-Guarani or contact with Gê-speaking peoples. The post-Conquest incursions of *bandeirantes* and *mamelucos*[75] could well have had a like effect on the Indians.

RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

Our knowledge of aboriginal Tupi-Guarani religions has suffered, both at the hands of the early chroniclers as well as those of later writers, because of overemphasis of mythology. There apparently has been a confusion of mythology with the religion of which it is a part. (The white interest in mythology probably reflects Catholic Christian emphasis of dogma and theology.) Specifically for the Guarani, the missionary commentators, who might reasonably have been expected to produce worthwhile accounts of religion, nominally a matter of some interest to them, have not left much of value. Some were bent on discovering factual proof that the ancestors of the Guarani were actually taught by St. Thomas. (There were a few vague hints of this apostle's activity, least well accounted for of all the disciples. The scriptures, of course, state that all corners of the earth received the word after Christ departed leaving his followers to carry out such a project.) Or the priests were concerned with showing what a depraved and stupid type of worship the Guarani had and hence the necessity for His Hispanic Majesty to provide for greater and more intensive Roman Catholic missionization. Once the missionaries had a sufficient foothold to be able to do so with impunity, they made every effort to expose the native shamans to ridicule; they had them beaten, outlawed, or even punished with death when they expressed recalcitrance to the purveyors of the True Faith. From such conditions objective accounts of the native religion were not likely to emerge. We are therefore often obliged to use the information contained in accounts of other Tupi-Guarani religions and in reconstructions based on current Cayuá religious notions divested as much as possible of their acculturational overlay.

The aboriginal Cayuá did not differ greatly in general religious ideas from their coastal relatives. Métraux has said that the world was peopled for the early Tupinambá by two classes of supernatural powers or beings, one generally malevolent, individualized spirits, which might be called demons or genii, and the other a class of more numerous but impersonal "ghosts."[76]

[73] Rengger, 1835, p. 120. [74] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[75] *Bandeirantes* and *mamelucos* were mestiso adventurers and Indian slavers from the São Paulo section of colonial Brazil. [76] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 33.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

eat in times of want. They also gather the fruits of other palms, such as *Acrocomia mokayayba, A. totai, Cocos yatay, Attalea*, and of several trees and other plants, including *Carica, Annona*, araza, ihwa-imbé (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), mburucudyà (*Passiflora edulis*), wild oranges, etc.

The *Caingud* relish honey, which is for them an important food resource. The *Apapocuva* have taken the first steps toward domesticating bees. When they gather honey, they spare several combs so that the bees can return to the same place another time. They also acclimatize swarms of bees to their villages. The fat of butterfly larvae (Phalaenidae and Morphidae) and of beetles (tambu, *Calandra palmarum*[2]) is part of *Caingud* diet. They fell some trees for the purpose of developing the larvae in the decayed wood.

Hunting.—Because the *Caingud* prefer meat to any other food, their main concern when they move their village is to choose an area with abundant game. They make great use of traps. These are of two types: dead falls, which crush the game; and spring snares with automatic release, for birds and even for large quadrupeds, like tapir or deer. Traps and pitfalls are often located at places where animals enter fenced fields. The *Caingud* capture parrots in a noose at the end of a pole. They have dogs trained for hunting, especially for jaguars.

Lower jaws of jaguars are kept as trophies suspended in front of huts.

Fishing.—Fishing is of secondary importance. It is reported that the ancient *Guaraní* angled with wooden hooks; those living on the Coast used tucumã fiber nets. Although modern *Guaraní* are well provided with iron hooks, they still shoot fish with bows and arrows, force them into baskets placed in the openings of stone dams, or poison them in calm water with the juice of a Sapindaceae (Vogt, 1904, p. 204).

Domesticated animals.—The only domesticated animal in pre-Columbian times was the Muscovy duck. Today they have dogs, chickens, and many other European farm animals.

Cooking.—The food of the rural population of Paraguay is largely a heritage of the ancient *Guaraní*. The most popular dishes prepared with maize are chipas—cakes made of maize flour—mbai puy, maize mush, abati pororo, boiled maize, and guaimi atucupé—maize dough wrapped in leaves and cooked under the ashes. The *Caingud* have about 12 recipes for preparing maize. Maize flour baked in a green bamboo joint is a *Caingud* specialty.

Manioc tubers are generally boiled or roasted. They are also sliced, dried in the sun, and pounded into a flour with which the *Caingud* make wafers. Flour for wafers is also prepared by the *Caingud* with tubers soaked in water or mud for 8 days, and then dried in the sun and ground. Manioc starch is also extracted by grating the tubers—today on a tin grater—and washing the mass in water.

[2] *Rhynchophorus* sp., according to Strelnichov.